The People's Korea

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300,000 Take to Streets in Defiance of Chun's Crackdown

Largest-scale anti-government protests erupted in at least 33 cities across south Korea on the night of June 26 while the south Korean authorities made desperate efforts to foil the opposition-sponsored "peace marches" calling for democratization of the country.

More than 58,000 policemen were mobilized across the country from early morning of June 26 to foil the marches planned at 6 p.m. Police also blocked the entrances to the rally sites. Earlier on June 25, police in cautionary measures detained more than 1,800 people and searched 22 universities throughout the country.

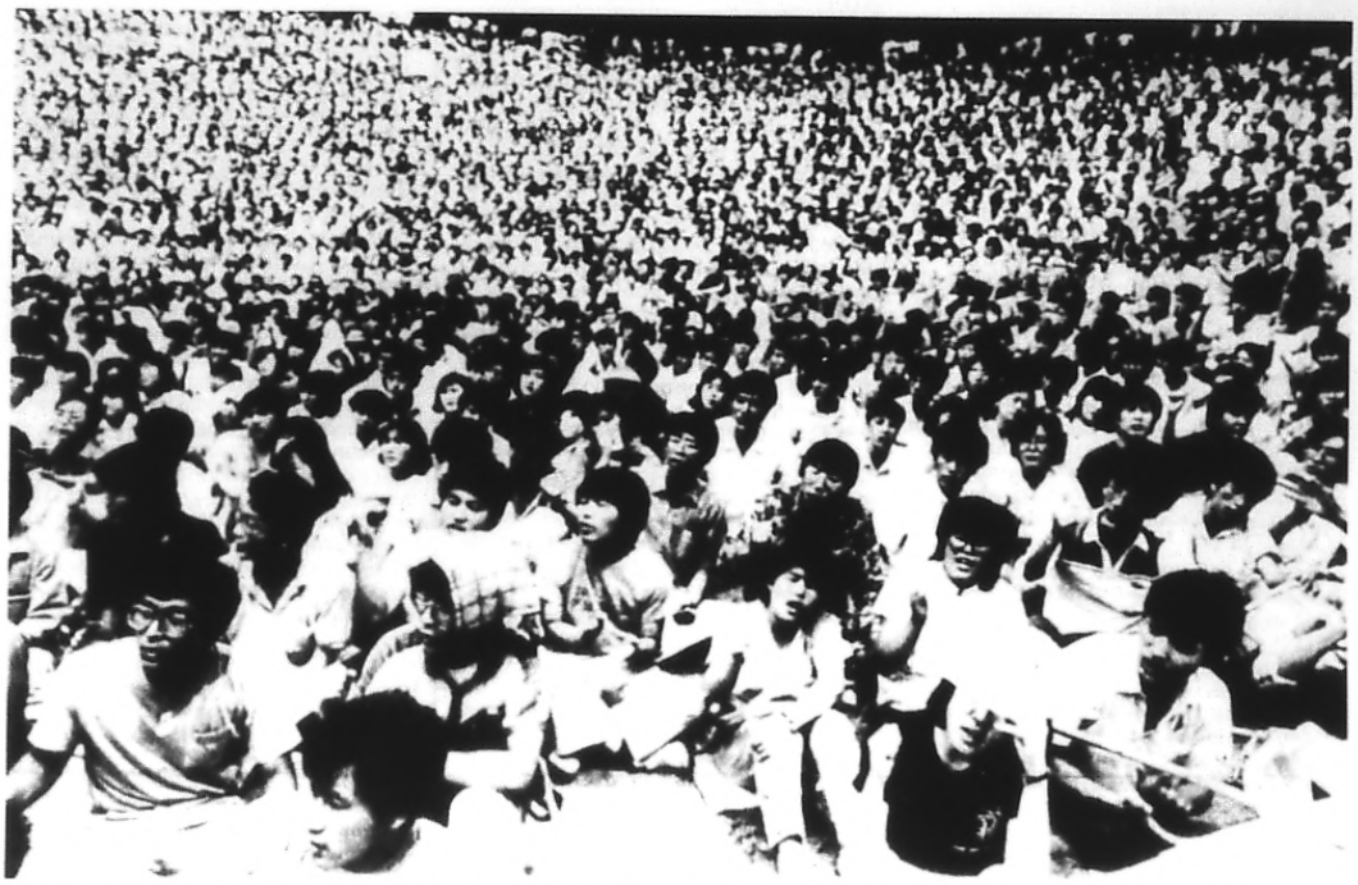
Some 1,000 riot police surrounded the headquarters of the Council for Promotion of Democracy, the building used as the headquarters of the main opposition Reunification Democratic Party (RDP).

Police also temporarily arrested Kim Young Sam, chairman of the party, and other officials who attempted to attend the march.

Top dissident leader Kim Dae Jung, who was released from house arrest on June 24, was again confined to his house on the day, and some 200 dissident leaders were also house-confined.

The National Coalition for a Democratic Constitution, an umbrella dissident organization and the sponsor of the marches, had more than once stressed that the June 26 marches would be non-violent, peace marches, but the authorities claimed they were "illegal" acts attempting to cause disturbances in the country.

At 6 p.m., when the marches were to start, thousands of Seoul citizens gathered and marched toward Pagoda Park, a main rally site, but riot police dispersed them firing tear-gas bombs. In protest against the police crackdown, students and citizens responded with rocks and Molotov cocktails, and large-scale clashes erupted in at least five places in Seoul.



More than 20,000 students on June 23 gathered at Seoul's Yonsei University to continue struggle for democracy. (Reuter)

In the southern city of Kwangju, some 65,000 people marched through the city's main streets and clashed with riot police. Police buses and vehicles were burnt down and citizens virtually occupied the main street.

Also in Pusan, about 30,000 students and citizens staged an anti-government demonstration until midnight, despite a barrage of tear-gas bombs fired by riot police.

Similar clashes occurred in almost all major cities in south Korea.

The exact number of people involved in the protests is not available, but at least 300,000 people in 888 places across the country staged protests as of the morning of June 27 according to the Japanese state-owned broadcasting company NHK.

"Fight to the Finish"

Severely criticizing the massive police crackdown against the non-violent, peaceful marches, an RDP spokesman said in a statement, "We are forced to adopt a clear-cut policy of fierce

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High-Temperature Superconductive Material Obtained

PYONGYANG June 15 (KCNA) – A research collective of Kim Il Sung University on June 4 succeeded in obtaining high-temperature superconductive material which focuses the attention of the world scientific circles.

According to an announcement of the collective, it is a special ceramic material obtained through the sintering of a well-mixed oxides of yttrium, barium and copper in high temperature.

The superconductive material begins sharply declining in electric resistance from the absolute temperature of 93 degrees (180 degrees below zero centigrade) till it drops to zero at the absolute temperature of 80 degrees (193 degrees below zero centigrade).

The brilliant success in the research into high-temperature superconductive material has opened a definite prospect for bringing new changes in many fields of the national economy including power industries.

The successful solution of the problem of high-temperature superconductive material, a subject into which the world scientific circles are making intensive researches with deep concern, clearly proves that Korea has reached the world's advanced level in this field, too.

A New Modern Street Takes Shape in Pyongyang

A new modern street called the Puksae Street with the newest types of apartment houses has made its appearance in Pyongyang.

The various styles of apartment – tower, folding screen, curved line and streamline – have been well harmonized with the beautiful scenery of Moran Hill.

Although the street has been formed with large high-rise buildings the area lies low against the background of Moran Hill.

A main part of the Puksae Street.

The flats, which are now ready to be occupied, provide accommodation for 20,000 people in 4,500 households, with each household having a floor space 1.2 times that of flats constructed in the Munsu Street in the early 1980s.

Commercial and public service facilities are evenly distributed to serve each block in the street and cultural and other amenities are also available.

A well furnished cinema, a gymnasium and schools have also been built. The gymnasium is expected to be very popular as it can be used for all sports with the exception of football.

The main road of the Puksae Street is linked with the plaza of the Arch of Triumph and Munsu Street by the Rungra Bridge which is being constructed at the moment. It is also linked to Yougung and other streets.

The construction of new streets in Pyongyang and other parts of the country is a result of the party's policy of improving living standards.

The DPRK, which is now entering its third Seven-Year Plan, puts a primary emphasis on the betterment of the people's standard of living.

DPRK President Receives For. Dels to Nonaligned Meet on S-S Cooperation

President Kim Il Sung received foreign delegations of various countries who attended the Extraordinary Ministerial Conference of Nonaligned Countries on South-South Cooperation held in Pyongyang on June 9-13. (See related stories in the previous issue)

They included:

- The delegation of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia headed by Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary for foreign affairs (June 10);
- The delegation of the Republic of Nicaragua headed by Foreign Minister Miguel Descoto Brockmam (June 11);
- The delegation of the Republic of India headed by Narayan Datt Tiwari, minister of foreign affairs (June 10);
- The delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan headed by Mr. Mohammad Aziz, deputy prime minister and chairman of the State Planning Committee (June 12);
- The delegation of the Islamic Republic of Iran headed by Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati (June 10);
- The delegation of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar headed by Foreign Minister Jean-Bemananjara (June 11);
- The delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic headed by Mr. Issam Al-Naeb, minister of state for foreign affairs of syria (June 11);
- The delegation of the Algerian Democratic and People's Republic headed by Foreign Minister Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi (June 11);
- The delegation of the Republic of Mali headed by Mr. Modibo Keita, minister of foreign affairs and international cooperation (June 11);
- The delegation of the Republic of Zimbabwe headed by Foreign Minister Witness Mangwende (June 10);
- The delegation of the People's Republic of the Congo headed by Mr. Antoine Ndinga-Oba, minister of foreign affairs and cooperation (June 11);
- The delegation of the Republic of Togo headed by Mr. Yaovi Adodo, minister of foreign affairs and cooperation (June 12);
- The delegation of the People's Republic of Benin headed by Mr. Gui-Landry Hazoume, minister of foreign affairs and cooperation (June 12);
- The delegation of the Republic of Ghana headed by Mr. Obed Yao Asamoah, secretary for foreign affairs (June 12);
- The delegation of Burkina Faso headed by Mr. Leandre Bassolet, minister of external relations and cooperation (June 12);
- The delegation of the People's Republic of Angola headed by Mr. Maria Mambo Cafe, minister of state in charge of economic and social problems (June 11);
- The delegation of the United Republic of Tanzania headed by Foreign Minister Benjamin Mkapa (June 11);
- The delegation of the Republic of Uganda headed by Foreign Minister Ibrahim Mukiibi (June 11);
- The delegation of the Republic of Zambia headed by Foreign Minister I. J. Mwananshiku (June 11);
- The delegation of the Republic of Cyprus headed by Foreign Minister George Iacovor (June 11);
- The delegation of the Republic of Guinea headed by Mr. Edward Benjamin, minister of planning and international cooperation (June 11); and
- The delegation of Socialist Ethiopia headed by Foreign Minister Berhanu Bayih (June 15).

List of Participants In Pyongyang Nonaligned Meet

One hundred-five delegations from nonaligned member nations and other developing countries attended the June 9-13 Extraordinary Ministerial Conference of Nonaligned Countries on South-South Cooperation held in Pyongyang.

Here is a list of the participants:

- A delegation of the Republic of Uganda headed by Ibrahim Mukiibi, minister of foreign affairs;
- A delegation of the South West Africa People's Organization headed by its Secretary General Andimba Tovio Ya Toivo;
- A delegation of the Republic of Singapore headed by Raymond Wong Heng Tem, department director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs;
- Taoufik Smida, delegate of the Republic of Tunisia;
- A delegation of the United Arab Emirates headed by Feziu Hussein Abdul Latef, ambassador of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs;
- A delegation of the United Nations Council for Namibia headed by its President Peter Zuze;
- Alvaro Moerzinger, delegate of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay;
- A delegation of the People's Republic of Benin headed by Gui-Landry Hazoume, minister of foreign affairs and cooperation;
- A delegation of the Republic of Burundi headed by Habonimana Balthazar, minister of youth, sports and culture;
- A delegation of Burkina Faso headed by Leandre Bassolet, minister of external relations and cooperation;
- A delegation of the Republic of Ghana headed by Obed Yao Asamoah, secretary for foreign affairs;
- A delegation of the Republic of Guinea headed by Edouard Benjamin, minister of planning and international cooperation;
- A delegation of the Republic of Maldives headed by Abdul Sattar Moosadidi, minister of fisheries;
- A delegation of the Republic of Sierra Leone headed by Bu-Buakei Jabbi, minister of state of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs;
- A delegation of the Republic of Togo headed by Yaovi Adodo, minister of foreign affairs and cooperation;
- A delegation of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen headed by Ahmed Ali Mukbil, minister of agriculture;
- A delegation of the Republic of San Marino headed by Massimo Roberto Rossini, chairman of the Committee of Foreign, Political and Information Affairs of the Great and General Council of San Marino;
- A delegate of the Socialist National Liberation Front of Kanaky Yann Celene Uregei, minister of external relations;
- A delegation of the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya headed by Moftah Madi, member of the People's Committee of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison;
- A delegation of the Republic of Finland headed by Joel Pekuri, roving ambassador of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs;
- A delegation of the Republic of Argentina headed by Enrique De La Torre;
- A delegation of the Kingdom of Bhutan headed by Subrana Lama, director of a department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs;
- A delegate of the Republic of Bolivia Jorge Lema Patino;
- A delegate of the Republic of Cape Verde, Alvaro Dantas Tavares;
- A delegation of the Republic of Chad headed by Issa Abbas Ali;
- A delegation of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana headed by Ashik Altaf Mohamed;
- A delegation of the Republic of Kenya headed by Raphael M. Killu;
- A delegate of the State of Kuwait Hassan Ali Dabbagoh;
- A delegate of the Republic of Lebanon Farid Samaha;
- A delegate of the Kingdom of Lesotho M. P. Phoofolo;
- A delegation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania headed by Diagana Youssouf;
- A delegation of the Kingdom of Morocco headed by Harkett;
- A delegation of the Republic of Niger headed by Ausseil Pierre;
- A delegation of the Republic of Senegal headed by Massamba Sarre;
- A delegate of the Republic of Seychelles Georges Payet;
- A delegation of the Democratic Republic of Somalia headed by Yussuf Hassan Ibrahim;
- A delegate of the Republic of Austria Jutta Stefan Bastl;
- A delegation of Vatican headed by Giuseppe Bertello;
- A delegate of the Swiss Confederation Wilhelm Meier;
- A delegate of the Republic of Venezuela Pedro Camacho, deputy director of a Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs;

(Continued on page 2)

EDITORIAL

Pyongyang Nonaligned Meet Contributes to Developing S-S Cooperation

The Extraordinary Ministerial Conference of Nonaligned Countries on South-South Cooperation was held in the DPRK capital of Pyongyang on June 9-13. The nonaligned meeting, the first of its kind, which was opened amid rising desire and demand for international unity and cooperation among the developing countries, successfully ended with the adoption of a Pyongyang Declaration and a Plan of Action on South-South Cooperation at its final session.

The ministerial conference was held according to a decision of the 8th Summit Conference of the Nonaligned Countries in Harare, capital of Zimbabwe, last year.

The meeting was attended by 105 delegations, and delegates of liberation movement organizations and international organizations from many countries, including member nations of the nonaligned movement. They widely exchanged successes and experiences in South-South cooperation and discussed measures for and methods of expanding and developing South-South cooperation.

A congratulatory speech of President Kim Il Sung at the first session entitled "Let Us Develop South-South Cooperation" not only impressed the attendants but also was adopted as a formal document of the meeting.

This meeting was of great international significance in that it for the first time discussed the problems of South-South cooperation from all angles. The meeting not only became an important opportunity of developing South-South cooperation, establishing a new and fair international economic order and strengthening friendship and unity among the nonaligned countries but also encouraged the progressive people's struggle to safeguard justice and peace.

Moreover, the meeting, hosted by the DPRK, greatly contributed toward developing relations of friendship between the Korean people and the peoples of nonaligned countries.

President Kim Il Sung said as follows:

"South-South cooperation is a noble undertaking for the developing countries to achieve economic independence through mutual economic and technical assistance and through mutual accommodation. It represents new international economic relations based on their common aspirations and interest."

Peoples of many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America cast off the yokes of colonial subordination by the imperialist countries after the Second World War, achieved political independence and entered the course of independent development. But they are suffering from new knotty economic problems, owing to the influence of the neocolonialist policy of imperialism and the unfair international economic system. Imperialists are plundering developing countries by utilizing their monopolistic positions in international economic relations and are sacrificing the interests of the developing countries for their own interest.

As a result, the resources and fruit of labor of the developing countries are purchased by the developed capitalist countries at low price and their foreign debts are increasing, and their living standards are aggravating.

Therefore, under these difficult circumstances, developing South-South cooperation is raised as the most urgent question for the developing countries to get rid of their economic dependence and establish their independent national economies.

The Pyongyang meeting confirmed the stand that the nonaligned countries should strive to maintain independence, uphold the principles of collective self-reliance, complete equality and mutual benefits and develop South-South cooperation extensively.

It also adopted a plan of action to strengthen cooperation among the developing countries, in the areas of trade, finance, food and agriculture, science and technology, industry and other fields.

The DPRK government has made efforts with sincerity and will continue to do so to take the lead in their movement of the nonaligned countries and to realize South-South cooperation, including assistance to African countries in agriculture.

We pay tribute to this meeting as an important turning point in developing South-South cooperation and are convinced of greater successes in the future in South-South cooperation.

Peace-Loving N-S Reunification Policy Pursued by Pyongyang Authorities (1)

Song Jae Ryong
Editor

July 4 is the 15th anniversary of the announcement of the historic July 4 North-South Joint Statement made on July 4, 1972. On the occasion of this significant day, we would like to introduce the peace-loving north-south reunification policy consistently maintained by the Pyongyang authorities.

To attain peace and security on the Korean Peninsula and realize Korean reunification – this is the serious desire and pressing need of all the Korean people and peace-loving people of the world.

No Korean wishes for his country's split or wants to live in the crisis of war as we do today, if he is truly concerned about the nation's destiny.

Since its founding the government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has consistently made every possible effort to remove the grave danger of war from the Korean Peninsula and solve the Korean issue peacefully, repeatedly making proposals for the reintegration of the divided country.

Geneva Conference

At a time when the possibility of peaceful solution of the Korean issue was provided with the signing of the Korean Armistice Agreement (July 27, 1953), the DPRK government made a concrete proposal at the Geneva Conference (Apr. 27, 1954) that all the foreign troops be withdrawn from Korea as envisaged in the agreement so as to attain peace in Korea and its peaceful reunification.

However, the Geneva Conference broke off owing to the one-sided declaration of its suspension by the USA. The U.S. troops were continuously reinforced in the southern half of Korea.

Even in that situation the Pyongyang authorities took the initiative to substantially cut the armed forces of the Korean People's Army.

On Sept. 20, 1957, President Kim Il Sung said:

All the foreign troops must pull out of Korea, and south Korea must not become a U.S. atomic base; The north and the south must refrain from an arms race, and cut down their armed forces; we once more propose to the south Korean authorities that the strength of the north and the south Korean armed forces be reduced to 100,000 or less, respectively.

In support of the DPRK government's statement demanding simultaneous withdrawal of all foreign troops from north and south Korea (Feb. 5, 1958), the Chinese government completely withdrew its People's Volunteers by Oct. 26, 1958, from north Korea but the Seoul and Washington authorities rejected Pyongyang's just proposal.

Faced with the situation, particularly, the DPRK President proposed to the Seoul authorities to enter into an agreement on the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea, reducing north-south armed forces, refraining from use of armed forces against each other and on the formation of a north-south confederation, in his historic speeches and reports delivered on the occasions of the 10th and 15th anniversaries of the Aug. 15 liberation (Aug. 14, 1955, 1960) and at the First Sessions of the Second and the Third Supreme People's Assembly (Sept. 20, 1957 & Oct. 23, 1962).

In view of the fast changing situation favorable for Korea's peaceful reunification in the 1970s, the DPRK President put forward the epoch-making policy of promoting north-south dialogues and negotiations in his historic speech (Aug. 6, 1971).

The DPRK President said:

"We are ready to establish contact at any time with all political parties, including the Democratic Republican Party, and all social organizations and individual personages in south Korea."

He also pointed out that the south Korean rulers, if they truly want peaceful reunification, must first and foremost make the U.S. troops withdraw from south Korea, instead of begging for their permanent presence, stop colluding with the Japanese militarists for their inroads into south Korea, desist from suppressing the political parties, public organizations and democrats in south Korea that call for peaceful reunification, allow them to voice their demands for north-south negotiations for national reunification and base themselves on the principle of solving the Korean question by the Koreans themselves.

The Pyongyang authorities considered the Korean reunification issue from the viewpoint of national interests and from the standpoint of peace and security in the world.

The DPRK government maintained the principle that the reunification question should be solved independently without any foreign interference, peacefully and on the principle of great national unity.

In an interview with The New York Times, President Kim Il Sung on May 26, 1972, said: We always maintain that our homeland should be reunified independently and peacefully without foreign interference. Furthermore, we hold that the unity of the entire nation should be achieved under conditions in which both sides trust and respect each other, despite the different social systems in the north and the south.

Also in his talk with a journalist of The Washington Post, the DPRK leader on June 21, 1972 stated: We also consider it necessary to reduce the armed forces of north and south Korea in order to ease the tension; Each side could reduce its armed strength by 150,000 or preferably 200,000 on agreement; The military strength of north and south Korea should be reduced to 100,000 or less respectively on condition that the U.S. troops pull out from south Korea.

July 4 N-S Joint Statement

According to the north-south reunification policy set forth by President Kim Il Sung, Pyongyang and Seoul representatives held talks in Pyongyang and Seoul from May 2 to 5 and from May 29 to June 1, 1972 and reached an agreement on a number of internal and external problems related to the tasks of easing the tension and accelerating national reintegration.

Finally on July 4, 1972 the North-South Joint Statement was made public, whose keynote was the three principles of national reunification, namely independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity.

(To be continued)

(Continued from page 2)

- A delegation of the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization headed by S.S. Puri, its assistant general director and a representative of its Asian and Pacific Regional Office;

- A delegation of the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development headed by Yves Berthelot, its deputy general secretary;
- A UNDP delegation headed by S.M.S. Chadha, director of the special unit for TCDC; A UNESCO delegation headed by J. Kabore, director of the Secretariat of Study, Action and Cooperation for the Development of UNESCO;

- A WHO delegate Farouk Abdul Jalil Partow, its assistant general director;
- A delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic headed by KH. Olzvoi, vice minister of foreign affairs;
- A delegate of Spain Enrique Panes;
- A delegate of the World Food Program Michael Anthony Sackett, director of its coordinating bureau;

- A delegation of the Federal Republic of Nigeria headed by I.A. Shekarri, minister for special duties of the office of the president;
- A delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan headed by Mohammad Aziz, deputy prime minister and chairman of the State Planning Committee;

- A delegation of the Algerian Democratic and People's Republic headed by Foreign Minister Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi;
- A delegation of the People's Republic of Angola headed by Maria Mambo Cafe, minister of state in charge of economic and social problem;

- A delegation of the Central African Republic headed by Jean-Claude Kazagui, minister of higher education and scientific research;
- A delegation of the People's Republic of the Congo headed by Antoine Ndinga-Oba, minister of foreign affairs and cooperation;
- A delegation of the Republic of Cuba headed by Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca Peoli;
- A delegation of the Republic of Cyprus headed by Foreign Minister George Iacovor;
- A delegation of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea headed by Juan Olo Mba Nseng, minister of mining industry and fuel;
- A delegation of Socialist Ethiopia headed by Foreign Minister Berhanu Bayih;
- A delegation of the Republic of Gabon headed by Honorine Dossou Naki, secretary of state in charge of cooperation of the minister of state and the minister of foreign affairs and of cooperation;
- A delegation of the Republic of Guinea Bissau headed by Marcelino Lima, secretary of state for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs;
- A delegation of the Republic of India headed by Foreign Minister Narayan Datt Tiwari;
- A delegation of the Republic of Indonesia headed by Emil Salim, minister of state for population and the environment;

- A delegation of the Islamic Republic of Iran headed by Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati;
- A delegation of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar headed by Foreign Minister Jean-Bemananjara;

- A delegation of the Republic of Mali headed by Modibo Keita, minister of foreign affairs and international cooperation;
- A delegation of the Republic of Nicaragua headed by Foreign Minister Miguel Descoto Brockmann;

- A delegation of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan headed by Sartaj Aziz, special assistant to the prime minister on food, agriculture and cooperatives;
- A delegation of the Palestine Liberation Organization headed by Muhammad Mulham, director in charge of the affairs of the occupied area;
- A delegation of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka headed by Gamani Nanda Jayasuriya, minister of research for agricultural development and of food;
- A delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic headed by Issam Al-Naeb, minister of state for foreign affairs;
- A delegation of the United Republic of Tanzania headed by Foreign Minister Benjamin Mkapa;

- A delegation of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia headed by Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary for foreign affairs;
- A delegation of the Republic of Zaire headed by Kasereka Kasai, state commissioner in charge of foreign trade;

- A delegation of the Republic of Zambia headed by Foreign Minister L.J. Mwananshiku;
- A delegation of the Republic of Zimbabwe headed by Foreign Minister Witness Mangwende;
- A delegation of the People's Republic of Bangladesh headed by Wajid Ali Khan Panni, vice minister of foreign affairs;
- A delegation of the Arab Republic of Egypt headed by Abdel-Hadi Hassanien Mankhlouf, vice minister of foreign affairs;
- A delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic headed by Soubanh Srithirath, vice minister of foreign affairs;
- Delegate of the Republic of Liberia Thomas C. Bestman, vice minister of foreign affairs;
- A delegation of Malaysia headed by Tok Muda Abdulah Fadzil Che Wan, vice minister of foreign affairs;
- A delegation of the People's Republic of Mozambique headed by Daniel Filipe Gabriel, vice minister for foreign trade of the Ministry of Commerce;
- A delegation of the Kingdom of Nepal headed by M.M. Sainju, vice chairman of the State Planning Committee;
- A delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam headed by Vu Xuan Ang, vice minister of foreign affairs;
- A delegation of the Yemen Arab Republic headed by Ahmed Mohammad Ali Irhyani, vice minister of foreign affairs;
- A delegation of the Republic of Botswana headed by Sasara George;
- A delegation of the Republic of Cameroon headed by Jean Keutcha;

- Delegate of the Republic of Colombia Carlos Hearnandez;

- Delegate of the Kingdom of Hashemite Jordan Khalil Othman, director of a department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs;
- Delegate of the Republic of Cote d'Ivoire Koffi Fana;
- A delegation of the Republic of Peru;

- A delegation of the Republic of Rwanda headed by Magira Bigirimana Denis;
- A delegation of the Romanian Socialist Republic headed by Constantin Stanca, vice minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation;

- Delegate of the Republic of Greece Emmanuel E. Megalokonmos;
- A delegation of the United States of Mexico headed by Eugenio Anguiano Roch;

- Delegate of the African National Congress of South Africa James Stuart, secretary of the External Coordinating Council;
- A delegation of the Organization of the Islamic Nations Conference headed by its General Secretary S.S. Pirzada;

- Delegate of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization Chitta Biswas, deputy general secretary of the organization;
- A delegation of the Organization of the African Unity headed by Ngung Etul Mpwotsh, head of the general political affairs, defence and security of the organization;

- A delegation of the U.N. Industry Development Organization headed by L. Alexandrenne, deputy general director in charge of external relations, information, languages and public service; and
- Delegate of the Commonwealth Secretariat K.B.K. director of the economic department.

Washington's Double-faced Policy Toward S. Korea

By Kim Ji Won
Special to The People's Korea

Amid growing political crisis rattling south Korea, the United States has sent senior government officials one after another to Seoul in the recent weeks, repeatedly urging south Korea's strongman Chun Doo Hwan to maintain "restraint" and "dialogue" with the opposition over the nationwide popular protests.

Washington's approaches toward Seoul have included: a letter from President Reagan to Chun urging him not to overreact to demonstrations and calls for a resumption of dialogue with the opposition delivered by the U.S. ambassador to Seoul James Lilley on June 17; Secretary of State George Shultz's comment in Singapore: "Our advice is somehow to resume the process of dialogue between the government and opposition"; U.S. undersecretary of state Edward Derwinski's June 20 discussion on the security situation with his counterparts in Seoul; U.S. assistant secretary of state Gaston Sigur's June 23 talks with ruling and opposition leaders including Kim Young Sam.

A series of the recent statements and "concerns" over the current critical situation in Seoul made public by the White House and senior State Department officials, seem to aim at giving the neither impression of acquiscence with a dictator nor that of support for the opposition forces because either option might worsen the situation – catastrophic outcome as a result of the use of arms or the explosion of anti-American sentiment.

When we hear of Washington's concern over the crisis in south Korea as well as its diplomatic responses, one can afford to ask questions: Does the United States really intend to help democracy in south Korea or will the Americans have the common sense to play the role of bringing down the dictatorial regime in Seoul?

The answer is very negative.

In view of Washington's crisis management in the past as seen in the Philippines or in Iran, it seems that the U.S. would play an important part in bringing down the dictatorship to support the side of democracy as was seen in Manila.

However, it is not true that Washington has played a role in democratization or pressured the military regime for democracy and human rights.

When we look back upon the American policy toward Korea over the past four decades, one can be aware of the true color and attitude of Washington.

Bruce Cumings, professor of the University of Washington, noted: "In a political crisis in Korea any American administration will move to support the anti-democratic forces of order – the military, the police, the intelligence agencies". (Japanese monthly, Sekai, March issue, 1987)

He cited the decision guidelines for American policy in Korea such as: 1) South Korea's strategic position is more important than human rights and democratization, because Korea is in the front-yard of Japan's defence; 2) Americans in official position have never thought Koreans capable of democracy; 3) South Korea has become an important industrial base in the American-managed global division of labor.

Cumings also said, "Strategic logic regarding the Korean peninsula was hammered out in the late 1940s, and has never changed."

His article notably reflects the fundamental position or attitude of the U.S. toward south Korea, the logic of those who see south Korea as a colony.

Kim Dae Jung on June 12 said: "There were nothing important in the content of talks with U.S. ambassador James Lilley and its second secretary (in May). The U.S. policy has not much changed so that it concedes report from Chun Doo Hwan as a fait accompli. The Americans want a practical interest and wish to avoid the antagonism of the south Korean people against them." (Telephone interview with Japan NCC, June 12)

"Therefore, when Chun suspended constitutional debate until after the Olympiad, the United States recognized it at once," he added.

Kim contends that although the Americans say they welcome dialogue between the ruling and opposition parties, it wishes that the opposition party compromise on the way of choosing a president and have a dialogue with Chun Doo Hwan.

"This attitude of America has been reiterated: repeatedly making a fait accompli, and then letting us recognize it."

After all, the Americans' position is such that it seeks to bring the present crisis under control by "compromise between the government and the opposition," while covertly propping up the protracted military dictatorship to lull anti-Chun and anti-American sentiment increasingly spreading throughout south Korea.

More specifically, the historical regimes in south Korea have been changed in accordance with the scenario worked out by Washington.

The afore-said Bruce Cumings' article seems to be to the point: "An honest reading of the past four decades in Korean-American relations yields not one case in which American power intervened on the side of democratic forces. In 1948 the U.S. gave every manner of backing to the Rhee (Syngman) regime, calling it a budding democracy, while nearly always labeling it dictatorial and corrupt in secret reports for internal consumption."

Things have not changed at all and can still be applied to the Chun junta.

In March this year, George Shultz and his junior William Clark, deputy assistant secretary of state, "urged" ruling and opposition leaders to meet each other half way over the constitutional debate during their Seoul visit, while expressing his support for the ruling DJP's position on a parliamentary election system which became the major target of the current public outcry.

The U.S. envoy's action virtually gave birth to the split of the strong opposition New Korea Democratic Party which was taken advantage of as a pretext of by Chun Doo Hwan's suspension of constitutional debate on April 13.

Washington's scenario was seen to succeed at that stage as the Americans' "advice of compromise" brought about the "self-destruction" of the No. 1 opposition so that Chun "was driven to take" the April 13 measure of suspending constitutional debate owing to the "lack of time" to reach interparty agreement and a "family scuffle" in the NKDP.

It is a stereotypical method of Washington to dictate to its local clients to bring the situation under control by directly meddling in or giving a script to them whenever the colonial ruling comes to a grave phase as was seen in the Philippines.

The United States again is trying to gloss over the critical situation in south Korea by employing a "compromise" card to deter anti-Chun protests for constitutional revision and split and disintegrate the opposition party and democratic forces by means of a harsh crackdown on one hand and appeasement on the other.

Shultz on June 16, referring to the breakdown of constitutional debate, said, "It is not quite accurate to say that Chun Doo Hwan was the sole cause of the breakdown of the talks", and continued, "There is a feeling the opposition didn't respond very much.

This seems to be another signal to prop up Chun and give way to some fraudulent measures on the dictatorial regime.

However, the massive protests will never cease unless the U.S. and Chun abolish their plan to prolong power, withdrawing the April 13 measure, and bringing a democratic government through a direct presidential election, as cited in the statement of the Reunification Democratic Party issued after Kim Young Sam's release on June 26.

Chronology of Major Incidents Since Roh's Nomination

The following chronology covers the period from June 10 to 24:

June 10

Roh Tae Woo was nominated as the next presidential candidate to succeed Chun by the ruling Democratic Justice Party's national convention in Seoul.

The Reunification Democratic Party and the National Coalition for a Democratic Constitution held a joint meeting in Seoul to denounce the nomination.

Tens of thousands of protesters surged up and down the main streets of Seoul, erecting barricades, attacking police with clubs and storming police stations and government offices to protest against the Chun junta.

In Kwangju, approximately 100,000 citizens and students participated in anti-government demonstrations.

About 300 citizens, mostly students occupied one of the church buildings of the Myongdong Catholic Cathedral in Seoul and started sit-in struggles demanding constitutional reforms.

Motorists began sounding their horns in Seoul while many of Seoul's Christian churches and Buddhist temples rang their bells at the same time at 6 p.m. as a sign of the anti-Chun movement, following a request of the NCDC.

The opposition RDP claimed that 500,000 people joined in the nationwide protests.

June 11

The National Police headquarters said that the June 10 demonstrations took place at 104 places in 20 cities throughout south Korea and about 3,854 people including 1,903 students were taken into custody by police.

About 600 students had a violent clash with riot police in Myongdong street, having staged an overnight sit-in at the Myongdong Cathedral compound. During the protest, they burned an effigy of President Reagan, demanding that the U.S. stop backing Gen. Chun and chanted "Down with the Americans who support the military dictatorship."

June 12

Yang Soon Jik, vice president of the opposition RDP, and 12 other leaders of anti-government organizations were arrested on charges of organization of and participation in an "illegal rally" at Anglican Church on June 10.

About 3,000 people, including office workers in suits and dresses, attempted to marth on the Myongdong Cathedral to support some 300 encircled students who had been staging a sit-in protest against Chun and Roh since June 10 and battling with surrounding police.

Father Oh Tae Sun and six other priests of the Korean Catholic Priests Association for Justice made it clear that they would share in the cause of the students and do their best as Catholic priests to protect them.

A total of 21,000 students staged on-campus demonstrations at 37 universities and colleges throughout south Korea.

June 13

The DJP and the administration discussed countermeasures against anti-government protests.

At the entrance of the Myongdong Cathedral compound, where about 300 citizens and students holed up for four straight days, about 800 students, Catholic nuns and citizens held a peaceful sit-in protest.

A large crowd, estimated at 4,000 in number, occupied a busy commercial section, some 100 meters away from the Cathedral, and staged a sit-in protest.

Police led away 638 people on this day alone.

June 14

About 1,500 Christians held a demonstration in the south west city of Chonju to protest against the Chun regime and scuffled with riot police, chanting "Down with dictatorship" and "Amend the constitution."

A woman demonstrator falls to the ground as a riot policeman arrests her during a protest in Yondunpo in southern Seoul on June 26. (Reuter)

June 15

A band of about 200 involved in the sit-in, mostly university students, who had continued their protest since June 10, departed from the cathedral on their own decision under the escort of Catholic priests. Before leaving, they made a statement in which they vowed to wage an upgraded struggle in the future by seeking links with other democratic forces.

About 15,000 People chanted anti-government slogans in drizzling rain in front of the cathedral, cheering the 200 sit-in demonstrators and battled with riot police after a mass at the cathedral which was led by Stephen Cardinal Kim Sou Hwan.

In other parts of Seoul, some 6,000

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Lessons from Civil Uprising in S. Korea

Follow excerpts from reports of foreign papers, magazines and news agencies and individual remarks appeared in them:

Vehemency of Protests

●"In clashes that have now spread from Seoul to other cities, students are being cheered on by a middle class that has so far shown scanty sympathy for their demands. That (Chun Doo Hwan's choice of Roh Tae Woo to succeed him) would bring seven more years of illegitimate, quasi-military government, and that is unacceptable to many south Koreans. Unless the Government is now willing to give some political ground, greater turmoil is inevitable." *The New York Times (Editorial, June 16)*

●"Waiters in some restaurant and clerks in several shops greeted customers by raising a fist and reciting the slogan "Dokchae tado," or "Down with the dictatorship." These are some of the most open displays of anti-government feeling shown here since Mr. Chun came to power by military coup in 1979." *The Asian Wall Street Journal (June 22)*

●"The (south Korean) military shows signs of unease, with one of faction growling for a harsher crackdown, perhaps martial law, while another explores a measure of relaxation and return to the talks on presidential-election rules whose breaking off, by the government, triggered the crisis." *The Washington Post (Editorial)*

●"In the spectacle of rioting students and police shooting off teargas, there's an urgency that implies freedom might somehow be achieved by plunging the country into chaos." *The Asian Wall Street Journal (Editorial, June 17)*

●"Unfortunately, the longer term view for development of political maturity in south Korea is not optimistic. There are many challenges, increasingly sophisticated, looming on the horizon." *The Daily Yomiuri (June 22)*

●"This situation is the biggest since 1960, I would say, and one similarity is that Syngman Rhee had to step down because of demonstrations. It really started when one student was killed by police in a demonstration, in Masan." *Mr. Lee, a 70-year-old civil engineer who declines to give his first name (The Asian Wall Street Journal, June 23)*

●"I do believe, in spite of some differences in both countries, that (South) Korea could become another Philippines." *Kim Dae Jung (Reuter-Kyodo, June 25)*

●"If the south Korean government takes one mistake in handling the current situation, there is a fear that huge problem will erupt." *Japanese Foreign Minister Kuranari Tadashi (Reuter, June 24)*

"I'm afraid it's too late for tokens or gestures of good will. It's either real significant reforms immediately or martial law." *A diplomat (The Asian Wall Street Journal, June 22)*

●"Normally, monks are so gentle. They never do anything against the government. But when the Buddhist is gentle, the government ignores us. I'm really upset about that." *Won Myung, middle-aged monk, clad in gray robes and with a shaved head (The Asian Wall Street Journal, June 23)*

●"I am just too happy that the church is leading when it comes to human rights and justice. It is our job to see to it that these are taken care of." *Philippines Archbishop Jaime Cardinal Sin (AFP, June 24)*

Middle Class Support

●"More importantly, the new, open support from middle-class Koreans has belied repeated claims by the government and the ruling Democratic Justice Party that the growing unrest throughout the country was the work of a small band of student and labor leftist radicals with no popular support." *The Asian Wall Street Journal (June 15)*

●"Until this week, the common sense in south Korea was that the middle class could never make common cause with the stone-throwing radicals of the campuses. Five days of demonstrations have put that wisdom into question and could rewrite the rules of politics." *The Washington Post*

●"The growing disillusionment of the middle class is one of the most important factors in Korea's current turmoil ..... Active opposition is spreading among ordinarily cautious lawyers, among businessmen, middle-aged matrons and traditionally conservative Buddhist monks. These are the sorts of people who have turned more disenchanted and more vocal in the past few weeks." *The Asian Wall Street Journal (June 23)*

●"We've been telling ourselves, each other, the opposition and the outside world that Koreans want prosperity more than democracy. But the Korean people are telling us that isn't a choice. They want both." *A south Korean government and party official (The Asian Wall Street Journal, June 22)*

●"We have said repeatedly that if the opposition's claim to represent the majority of Korean people was true, why weren't there angry businessmen and housewives out in the street with students? Now they are." *A European official (The Asian Wall Street Journal, June 15)*

●"A lot of citizens can't join the actual demonstration because they have their jobs to think about, but in their hearts they support what the students are doing. Of the people I work with and spend time with, at least 80 to 90 percent oppose the government." *Cho Mee Lee, 27, an office worker (Newsweek, June 29)*

●"Initially people are afraid. But when they get together, there is no fear." *A trading company employee (The Washington Post)*

●"I used to think the students were unduly influenced by North Korea. I was afraid they would be used by terrorists. But gradually, my firends and I have come to think the students are speaking their own minds. And what they are doing is really needed." *Mrs. Choi, 45-year-old university graduate and mother of three teen-agers (The Asian Wall Street Journal, June 23)*

Olympics in Danger

●"The south Korean government has only itself to blame ..... given south Korea's domestic political volatility ..... the selection of Seoul was a risk. The unrest, if it continues, is likely to discourage attendance at the Games ..... The choice of Seoul as an Olympic venue looks as unwise now as when it was announced." *The Times (Editorial, June 17)*

●"The violent crisis in south Korea goes on ..... Even the Olympics are threatened. They should be moved unless there are clear signs fairly soon that the government if prepared to calm the atmosphere by seeking reconciliation with its people." *The New York Times*

●"Turmoil in south Korea is reaching the point of national crisis ..... Such a bare confrontation would not only further retard progress toward democracy but also weaken the belief of other nations that south Korea has the political maturity to host the next Olympics." *The Japan Times (Editorial, June 20)*

●"The five interlinked Olympic rings are supposed to symbolize the union of the five continents under the sign of Olympic peace. But Korea now is hardly a place of Olympic harmony." *Swiss Paper Neue Zürcher Zeitung*

●"But it must be clear that the Olympic Games, a sports meet of the world people, cannot be held at a place where the army is going to specially guarantee the "safety" of the sportsmen by suppressing its people, if necessary, with tear gas and arms." *Finnish paper Helsingin Sanomat (Editorial, June 19)*

●"With the Olympics scheduled for Seoul next year, there's extensive potential for increasing turmoil, unless a political accord can be achieved." *The New York Times (Editorial, June 16)*

●"I would say if the situation is still very serious probably three months or so before the Games, you'd have to make a decision (on whether to move the venue of the 1988 Olympics elsewhere)." *Richard Pound, vice president of the International Olympic Committee (In an NBC television news program in Washington, June 21)*

●"Bob Paul, special assistant of the U.S. Olympic Committee, on June 17 told that the prospect of holding the Seoul Olympics is no more than 50 percent owing to the instability of the south Korean political situation." *(UPI, June 18)*

●"Neither the IOC nor the USOC (U.S. Olympic Committee) or any country's Olympic committee is going to subject athletes to a situation of putting them at high risk." *George Miller, an executive director of the USOC (AP, June 18)*

●"As we do for any games, we would not send a team anywhere if a team was in jeopardy. We are prepared to cancel the trip if the safety of the team is in any way in question, which means flying into the airport, going from the airport to the hotel and from the hotel to the venue." *U.S. Olympic Committee President Robert Helmick (UPI, June 17)*

●"Unless the (Seoul) government ..... implements reforms, increased instability, violence and even bloodshed are likely, and the Olympic Games will be in jeopardy." *Senator Edward Kennedy, a Massachusetts Democrat (AFP-Jiji, June 18)*

●"If a state of emergency were to be declared in Seoul for the period covering the Games, the IOC should insist that the Games be transferred to another venue." *Johannes Gerster, Christian Democrat member of West German parliament (AFP, June 20)*

●"Certainly we cannot sit idly and support the Olympic Games taking place in the context of this environment. We hope that something will happen soon . . ." *Jesse Jackson, a Democratic presidential contender (June 16)* ("The Rev. Jesse Jackson, a U.S. presidential hopeful, said the United States should boycott the Games unless the human rights situation improves." *The Washington Post*)

●"I think you comrades would also agree that because of reports like those we have been receiving from south Korea for a long time, almost every day, this (the Olympic) is impossible." *Valery Korzin, political commentator for Soviet television (June 18)*

●". . . a spokesman for the Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee told Agence France-Presse that he felt 'a kind of uneasiness' about the instability." *AFP*

A passenger on a bus gestures from the window in a show of support to anti-government demonstrators, foreground, in downtown Seoul on June 26. (AP)

Demand for Democracy

●"The basic problem is that Chun Doo Hwan wants a process that would ensure the election of his own nominee." *Former U.S. president Jimmy Carter* (He told that direct elections of president in south Korea inevitable and also advisable.)

●"We want to elect the chiefs of districts and wards and the president of the country, all by our own hands." *Chin Sung Jong, automobile salesman who said he for the first time took part in a protest (Newsweek, June 29)*

●"For these eight years of Chun, they have accumulated enough wrongdoing. And the April 13 announcement was done only to prolong their power." *Y.K. Choi, a well-off 45-year-old export-company executive (The Asian Wall Street Journal, June 23)*

●"The time is at hand for this country (the U.S.) to stand with those in south Korea who hope to bring about democratic reform." *Senator Barbara Mikulski, a Maryland Democrat (AFP-Jiji, June 18)*

(Continued from page 4)

Yonsei University students clashed violently with riot police after holding an on compus rally.

In the provincial city of Taejon, some 4,000 students of Chungnam National University took to the streets after breaking through police security lines. They burned down seven armored police vehicles.

In other provincial cities, including Chonan, Taegu, Suwon, Iri and Pusan, students also initiated violent clashes with riot police on the streets until late evening.

June 16

About 350 students occupied a Catholic center in Pusan to stage a protest against the military dictatorship and started a sit-in struggle.

Anti-government struggles were reported in provincial cities including Seoul, Pusan, Kwangju, Chinju, Chonan and Wonju with about 42,000 students and citizens participating in them.

One of the fierce fightings between riot police and citizens was reported from the southern city of Chinju, where thousands of people took to the streets. At least four police stations were attacked by roaming bands of students, and one was gutted by firebombs.

June 17

Thousands of young protesters in Pusan held hit-and-run demonstrations through the downtown area.

Protesters in Seoul burned police buses and attacked police stations, and one group blocked an expressway and hijacked two liquid gas tankers that they threatened to blow up.

The authorities closed 28 universities to try to halt growing protests.

June 18

Major clashes were reported in Seoul, Inchon, Pusan, Kwangju, Taegu, Taejon, Masan and Wonju.

In Seoul, students overwhelmed about 100 policemen, beating them up and burning their shields, helmets and gas masks.

Protesters attacked three police stations and set fire to three police buses. Two of the stations were ransacked.

At Taegu, demonstrators spilled oil on the road and, when a fire engine skidded out of control, they seized it and turned the water cannon on riot

(Continued on page 6)

Pyongyangites Hit U.S. and Chun's Schemes of "Peaceful Change of Power"

Pyongyang working people held a mass rally on June 13 and denounced the criminal scheme of the U.S. authorities and the Chun Doo Hwan puppet clique to extend the colonial military fascist dictatorship in south Korea.

Kim Bong Ju, chairman of the Central Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions of Korea, who is a presidium member of the Central Committee of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of the Fatherland was the first to address the rally.

The Chun Doo Hwan group, he said, on June 10 held a "convention of the Democratic Justice Party" and staged there the political burlesque of confirming Roh Tae Woo, a military hooligan, as its "presidential candidate" with the general mobilization of police force 120,000 strong under the "A-class emergency alert order." Furthermore, it went on the fascist rampage, bloodily suppressing everywhere south Korean students and people of all strata who opposed the "DJP convention" and "protection of the present constitution" and demanded democratic politics.

He concluded:

With the present military fascist dictatorial system left intact in south Korea, there can be no change but the change of the name of the dictator from Chun Doo Hwan to Roh Tae Woo and, worse still, the military fascist dictatorship will become more blatant and the people will be thrown into a more miserable lot.

The U.S. authorities, he said, should no more encourage Chun forsaken by the people in south Korea, but should get out there at once, taking along their forces and nuclear weapons, and the Chun Doo Hwan-Roh Tae Woo group should not run riot in fascist repression, seeking a long-term office, but should immediately release the illegally arrested students and people of all strata and step down from power without delay as demanded by the people.

An appeal to the south Korean political parties, groupings and people of all strata was adopted at the rally.

The appeal says it is time they fought with courage and decision while the United States shoring up the fascist dictators finds itself in a dilemma and the dictators themselves are seized with uneasiness, with the presentiment of the last moments of their doom, it continues:

The south Korean political parties, groupings and people of all strata, with firm confidence, should fight more courageously to terminate the military dictatorship of the Chun Doo Hwan-Roh Tae Woo group and greet the birth of a democratic regime which they have pictured in their dreams for over four decades.

The deceptive "change of power" by the fascist dictators under your very nose is an offspring of the U.S. aggressive policy towards south Korea for keeping it as their colony and military base indefinitely.

The south Korean people of all segments must never be duped by the crafty ruse of the U.S. authorities who are acting a midwife for the military dictatorship behind the scene while talking volubly about "democratic development" in public, but fight undauntedly against their interference in the internal affairs and colonial domination and for the withdrawal of the U.S. forces and nuclear weapons.

We entire people in the northern half of the Republic, as your fellow countrymen of the same ancestry, will always extend positive support and encouragement to your patriotic struggle.

Two days later, students in Pyongyang held a meeting to denounce the U.S. authorities and the south Korean puppet clique for scheming to prolong the colonial military fascist dictatorship in south Korea.

(Continued from page 5)

police.

Protesters in Wonju, east of Seoul, took the city police chief prisoner and beat him before he escaped the southern port city.

June 19

Premier Lee Han Key said the government would be forced to make "an extraordinary decision" if it became impossible to restore law and order to the nation.

About 44,000 students from 64 universities throughout south Korea participated in anti-government campus demonstrations. About 2,000 students of Seoul National University occupied the library of the university and held an overnight sit-in protest.

Nineteen professors from Seoul's Korea University issued a statement, supporting the students' protests against the Chun government.

The 19 professors went into sit-in struggle after the declaration.

June 20

Kim Young Sam refused to meet Roh and instead demanded a meeting with Gen. Chun Doo Hwan.

President Reagan sent a personal letter to Chun and Edwin Derwinski, U.S. undersecretary of state for security assistance, arrived in Seoul for a first-hand look at the situation.

Some 2,000 students and Buddhist monks in Seoul kicked and beat police with umbrellas after authorities blocked the monks from conducting an anti-government rally.

A couple of blocks away, some 500 students began shouting, "Oust Americans" and "No democracy without self-reliance." The group quickly swelled to 2,000 before police fired tear gas to break up the crowd.

Anti-government demonstrations were also reported in Kwangju, Pusan, Taejon, Sunchon, Taegu, Inchon and Chunchon.

Police led away 334 people in connection with the clashes on that day alone.

The authorities said 15,740 students from 45 universities held a campus demonstrations while about 20,600 people at 185 places in 12 provincial cities, on that day, staged street demonstration.

June 21

About 8,700 people at 59 places in 9 provincial cities attended street demonstrations while police led away 1,334 demonstrators. More than 3,000 police have been hurt, according to the authorities' announcement.

Four hundred and sixty-three nurses from the Inchon district of Seoul, 23 medical doctors in Seoul, and 27 teachers of members of an educational association of the YMCA issued statements to demand constitutional reforms.

June 22

Roh announced that Gen. Chun agreed to meet with Kim Young Sam to discuss ways to defuse the tension.

Some 20,000 students, including 10,000 in Seoul alone, clashed with riot squads while 37,300 people attended protests on that day according to police.

Some 1,500 Christian believers who had attended a prayer meeting at Saemunan Church in Seoul took to the streets, carrying candles in their hands.

June 23

The National Coalition for a Democratic Constitution said that it would go ahead with a "grand peace march" on June 26.

U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Gaston Sigur, who is in charge of the State Department's East Asian and Pacific affairs, arrived in Seoul for a three-day visit.

About 10,000 students from many universities poured on to Seoul's Yonsei University campus to spend a day of their summer holiday in yet another anti-government, anti-American protest. Screaming "Yankee go home," the protesters burned a huge American flag along with effigies of Gen. Chun and Roh.

The security headquarters reported 175 police stations and boxes, 10 public offices and 11 offices of the ruling DJP were burned or ruined in violent demonstrations while a total of 5,252 policemen suffered injuries in the last 13 days.

Police led away a total of 12,686 since June 10. Among them, 336 are detained.

June 24

Kim Young Sam said after three hours of talks with Gen. Chun that there had been no agreement and Chun did not appear to understand the extent of the crisis facing south Korea.

"We could not reach any outright agreement on my request for him to revoke the April 13 decision," Kim said.

Koreans in Japan Denounce Chun's Political Burlesque

—On Occasion of June 25, Day of Struggle against U.S. Imperialism—

Demonstrators chanting anti-U.S. and anti-Chun slogans with a vast array of banners.

On the occasion of "June 25, Day of Struggle against U.S. Imperialism", some 10,000 Korean residents in Japan criticised the U.S. authorities and the Chun junta for their provocative nuclear policies at a mass rally held on June 25 at the Osaka Castle Open-air Amphitheatre.

The mass rally was attended by officials and workers of the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan (Chongryun), compatriots and youths and students from the Kinki area.

They included Vice Chairman of Chongryun CSC, So Man Sul, who made a speech and Li Mal Sang, President of the Osaka Prefectural Headquarters.

The Vice Chairman So said:

The U.S. has deployed over 1,000 nuclear weapons including neutron bombs in south Korea and has stayed provocative military maneuvers with south Korea and Japan under the pretext of preparing for a "southward invasion." As a result the Korean Peninsula has been faced with the choice between war and peace.

He severely criticised Chun's Apr. 13 address in which he announced the shelving of constitutional debate in defiance of the wishes of the south Korean people and called for the withdrawal of nuclear weapons and Chun's resignation.

Following his speech, speeches were made by some Japanese guests; Makiuchi Masaya, general secretary of the Osaka office of the Japan Socialist Party, Minamino Masaaki, director of the Political Bureau of Sohyo (the General Council of Japanese Trade Unions) and Katsuma Yoshie, president of the Osaka Prefectural branch of the Japan Women's Council.

After the mass rally, the attendants held a demonstration march chanting slogans like, "U.S. troops get out of south Korea now!" and "We support south Korean people's struggle for constitutional revision!"

No U.S. Troops & Nuclear Weapons; Democracy in S. Korea!

The Central Standing Committee of the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan (Chongryun CSC), on June 11, issued a statement hitting out at the nomination by Chun of Roh Tae Woo, who helped Chun to grab power through a massive bloodbath with a thin veneer of "democracy" as a "presidential candidate".

The statement denounces the Roh's nomination by saying that it is entirely contrary to the south Korean people's will and the need of the times.

It continues:

Roh's nomination is an unpardonable and an open challenge to the south Korean people demanding constitution revision and election of the next "president" by popular vote.

Political Travels: Four Days in Seoul

EDITOR'S NOTE: The author, Louis Polasky, is a British free-lance journalist who frequently contributes articles to U.S. and British papers. He wrote about his recent trip to south Korea for The People's Korea.

By Louis Polasky

Extensive travel has made me wary of airport environs. The crowd of importuning cabbies I was expecting to face at Kimpo Airport failed to materialize this time, however. Instead a single eyeball loomed up starkly and without preamble, the thrusting orb, milky and unfocused. Our surprise redoubled when the image offered its services as a driver. We had arrived late in Seoul and neither I nor my companion were prepared for a cyclopean tour of a strange city. The man melted away into the night and the semblance of a real taxi driver appeared.

Crossing the cities dark ravines, metal bridges spanning broad rivers, the shallow gorges and urbanised gullies, I feel the cartography of war scored over this place. From the higher ground the raised expressway bites into Seoul: a view at night of blackened abysses strung with neon crucifixes. The Christians in this country certainly make their presence felt. Why no blazing neon Buddhas? A few well attended night markets float past under the glow of paper lanterns. Rows of hemp dry under the buttresses of a busy downtown intersection. Seoul is a city without walls: a sprawling, top-heavy, horizontally urbanised place. Even at night that much is apparent.

The hotels dour exterior compliments its gloomy corridors and low wattage rooms. On the hotel T.V. an overdubbed American kung fu series spits out a mash of violence and comedy in bursts of howling static. Later we try and find somewhere to eat but most places are closed by now. In the end we find a tiny, squat building squeezed in between swanky, ferroconcrete offices. A shrunken chicken carcass pressed against the steamy window proclaims this a restaurant. We enter, grateful even for this scrawny fare. The cuisine is pure Colonel Sanders.

The next morning we are up early, not perhaps with the Korean lark but at least the first early morning commuters. As they spurt towards a brave new world of office blocks and digital clocks we watch the sun shouldering up over new apartment sites which fan out towards Namsan mountain.

Springtime is streaming through Kyongbokkung Palace and the walled gardens are sweetly organic and garlanded. We are sitting on a stone bench contemplating the delicate traceries of vine and blossom resurfacing orange, stucco walls of exquisite antiquity, congratulating ourselves for having found such a restorative heaven from the honking avenues of grey ether which flow through Seoul's downtown districts. Suddenly beyond the flowerbeds there is uproar. Voices which wound like they are fighting for their lives erupt once more. A group of schoolchildren just disgorged through a stone gate are gathered into a fold, trussed up like stray belongings and quietly hurried away. A young man we have just struck up a conversation with, explains:

'There will be demonstrations all this week.

Why. Is this week special?

No. But the weather is good and when the weather is good there are always protesters.'

Our friend continues to speak effusively on a number of subjects which are officially off limits and we come to appreciate for the first time that people in Seoul are not as reticent as one would expect in a state where self-censorship is being hawked as the sin qua non of the model citizen. We learn that in an attempt at a personal slight the President is often referred to as the 'conceited dictator' and that almost every week of spring sees a protest somewhere; often on campus protests which receive little press coverage. Often all these small jets of protest unify into one newsworthy event. After a while our informants comment begin to have an unsettling effect. Such is the climate of mistrust in Seoul that I begin to have sinister misgivings about our young friends eastern *glasnost.* I wonder if, after all, he is sounding me out and my subversive agreement will be fed into a Central Computer somewhere. Our conversation after all is taking place almost within the shadow of the Unified Government Building. We shake hands finally and head for another part of the palace grounds hoping to recapture our earlier mood. But the damage is done and most of our perceptions from now on will be of the jaundiced type.

Kunjongyu Pavillion in Kyongbokkung Palace is a managerie in stone. Figures which are comical, malevolent, transsexual and multi-specied guard the sanctuaries of the pavillion. Turtles with the faces of shamanist demons, disproportioned rabbits and stunted dragons prompt alarm and hilarity. It looks like the nightmare of a guilt stricken biotechnician but it becomes for me generic with this enigmatic state where nothing is quite what it seems.

Back on the street again and people are openly curious about us and we are treated to prolonged, gormless stares wherever we go. The longer we stay in Korea the more distinct peoples faces become from the Japanese we left behind in Tokyo. We begin to discern the faint trails of Asiatic tribes and genetic streams flowing from Manchuria and Mongolia. We stop a taxi for Myongdong but the driver, anxious to be rid of us for reasons best known to himself, raises his fare from one to four thousand won, grinning as he does it.

That evening we bus to Itaewon. South Korea's official curfew ended in 1982 but it seems that something akin to a voluntary curfew takes place in much of Seoul's downtown districts around midnight. Trade is brisk in this part of town. Fur courtiers cheek to jowl with Snoopy shops and eel skin showrooms abutting discos look out over antique shops that share their leases with brothels. The prostitutes here are not wearing the skimpy outfits you would expect but conforming with custom are 'decently' covered. At a news stand an American G.I. browses through a magazine which is headlining a story about AIDS. It's my second night in Korea and I'm very alert to the heavy military presence everywhere. Even the red light areas are mysteriously guarded and eyes escort us through the twisting, serendipitous streets where countless numbers of women ply their trade under the casual gunbarrels of bored conscripts.

Seoul is honeycombed with brilliantly lit restaurants and beer halls and the downtown shopping arcades crackle with consumer activity. Nothing erodes political consciousness better it seems than a degree of consumer power. People are encouraged to engage less and less in reality and more and more in sustained divertisement.

In other parts of town strategically placed hoardings exhort the people of Seoul to 'Behave Like A Developed Nation' and to 'Act Like A Civilized People'. For Koreans the words are written large in *hangul.* Visitors to Seoul pass by none the wiser. The sight of these coersive billboards raises doubts about the administrations confidence in its citizens. Those who live beneath the thirty eight parallel in fact, are looking towards their Olympic year with mixed feelings. What ought to be a promotion event of prodigious scale is felt by some to be a mixed blessing. At a time when a mood of political largesse and conciliation might best suit the coming Olympic scenario a contrary mood of dissaffection has set in which augers ill for a state out to impress the visiting world. It is unlikely that the ruling camp will be able to paper over the factional power struggle which is now taking place. The current jockeying for power between the President's hardline party and the main reformists factions is in fact, being conducted in circumstances as muted as grand opera. A stiffened and prolonged climate of confrontation is the likely outcome of the current unrest. The present regime continues to be an uneasy marriage between an enigmatic military dictatorship and a selectively funded and channeled monopoly capital. Anyone who has spent sufficient time analysing this country's recent gains will know that under the fuselage of South Korea's soaring economic machine, a time bomb too implanted for the casual observer to perceive, ticks away stealthily.

Mimicking the form but not the content?

Close to one of Seoul's coastal suburbs a line of gun emplacements scan the invasion routes of invisible aggressors who might one day rise like trident bearing serpents from the Yellow Sea. A service check of these and other weapons is being undertaken by a team of American servicemen. It is an eloquent reminder that for a growing number of people South Korea has become little more than a minion state of the U.S. herself; another area of global influence in which a superpower aided by an adoring regime gleefully rule the roost in the exalted cause of national security.

The American presence in South Korea is running up against an increasing tide of adverse opinion. There is a growing sentiment that overseas forces in this area help sustain a climate of militarism and provide the ruling party with an ironcast raison d'être. However much the U.S. may publicly regret the tactics of its host government in defusing opposition, the fact remains that its own presence appears to be an endorsement of sorts. The regular deployment of martial arts trained riot squads is visibly withering the prospects for revisions in basic methods for dealing with the legitimate grievances of dissident factions. A strong American contingent unwittingly abetting this stepped-up mood of militarism makes constitutional progress a jittery business at best.

With the repressive propensities of a baton-wielding riot force becoming more unwieldy and ungovernable there is bound to be an incremental increase in numbers of dissidents. The advocates of current policy claim that political liberties have been put on hold in the wider interests of stable national developments. With no means of knowing when this promised transition will take place a new generation of Koreans, more attuned to the civil liberties enjoyed elsewhere in the world, are running low on patience.

Chun Doo Hwan's leadership, which draws heavily from the views of advisers while at the same time delegating little real authority, is openly reluctant to surrender the spoils of an autocratic rule and shows little signs of planning for an eventual succession. Faced with a stern and implacable authority with the military as its primary base of power, the air forever thick with fresh allegations of corruption, and the recent deferring of constitutional reform a topical and contentious issue, both the regime and its detractors are likely to be assailed with renewed and possibly incautious vigour. In the midst of this combustible atmosphere the country is set to face one of its severest trials so far.

At Kimpo Airport customs we are asked by three American servicemen if there are any government personnel among us. Which government, we wonder, are they referring to? The Korean or the American? It is a duality we have encountered time and time again. Four days in Seoul and we have seen enough. Perhaps we have given in to despondency too easily, but we file into the departure lounge with little regret. At least we have gleaned a few insights into the political machinations of this former Hermit Kingdom. But as we cross the tarmac the words of the eighteenth century poet Kim Sujang come to mind:

They call it white which is black;
what is black they call white.
Be it white or black
nobody says I am right.
I had best stop my ears, close my eyes
and hear nothing, see nothing.

By the time we are airborne my bewilderment is complete.

(Continued from page 1)

struggle until the present regime breathes its last."

He added, "All democratic opposition forces must increase solidarity and by further strengthening our ranks, fight to the finish to secure a democratic constitution."

The Seoul authorities' strict measures to counter peaceful marches of citizens drew nationwide outrage. And all night-long clashes in many cities seem to have disproved the analysis made in some government and ruling circles that the quashing of the parades would get the opposition back to a moderate stand.

Instead, the government's opponents seem even more determined following the fresh house arrest of Kim Dae Jung and the dragging away of Kim Young Sam from the route of the march.

Onlookers everywhere applauded and cheered the protesters in show of anti-government sentiments. Motorists honked their horns to express their support for the protests, and riot police in some areas began throwing tear-gas bombs at those who refused orders to stop. Protesters waved their white handkerchiefs to the hooting motorists.

Chosun Ilbo, a leading south Korean paper, reported that people in many cities openly showed support for the protesters.

"Middle-Class Revolt"

Nationwide protests, touched off on June 10 when the ruling DJP nominated Roh Tae Woo, Chun's hand-picked successor, as its presidential candidate, developed into a virtually popular uprising.

In almost all south Korean cities, tens of thousands of students and citizens staged demonstrations and clashed with riot police, and in some cases, angry citizens overpowered riot police firing a plenty of tear-gas shells.

June 10 and afterwards big-scale anti-government protests, involving students, workers, clergymen, housewives, and even elementary school kids, occurred everyday, culminating in the June 26 marches.

On June 23 alone, more than 20,000 students from 25 universities in Seoul gathered in Yonsei University and staged an on-campus demonstration, and some 30,000 students from 58 universities clashed with riot police across the country that day.

In the southern port city of Pusan, the second largest city of south Korea, about 80 clergymen June 24 started an indefinate sit-in in protest against riot police's outrage against student protesters.

Quite notable in this month's protests is the participation in demonstrations of ordinary citizens – long regarded as a "silent majority."

In the past, the south Korean rulers alleged that protesters were communists incited by "north Korean sympathizers" and a minority isolated from ordinary students and citizens.

But this time, such charges totally lacked credibility.

A female office worker was quoted by the U.S. magazine Newsweek as saying, "A lot of citizens can't join the actual demonstrations because they have their jobs to think about, but in their hearts they support what the students are doing."

"Of the people I work with and spend time with, at least 80 to 90 percent oppose the government," she said.

According to some reports, foreign correspondents are being approached by well-educated bankers, businessman and office workers anxious to know whether they understood the situation and eager to express their views which not so long ago they would have been reluctant to do.

The Hong Kong-based magazine Far Eastern Economic Review said, in one such conversation, a young executive in a three-piece suit ploughed on with what he wanted to say despite the obvious presence of police agents among a growing crowd of interested bystanders.

When some 500 students staged a six-day sit-in inside Seoul's Myongdong Cathedral from June 10, thousands of citizens brought food and relief supplies to the protesters and later on June 15, 10,000 non-student citizens joined students and held a candlelight Mass.

In Pusan, more than $7,000 were brought by citizens to those who had been staging a sit-in protest at the Pusan Catholic Center since June 16.

The contributors included merchants, housewives, businessmen, children, and even riot policemen who reportedly said that they were unwillingly shooting tear-gas shells at the protesters, unable to disobey the orders of their superiors.

These "middle-class" citizens' distrust and hatred of Chun's government had so far been hidden under the surface.

But Chun's Apr. 13 "decision" and the nomination of Roh as a presidential candidate, – another former general and Chun's closest friend at the south Korean military academy – seemed to pave the road for an extension of the military rule which was installed by Chun through the 1980 coup d'etat, and smashed the people's hopes for a democratic government. Moreover, the majority of people did not regard Chun's regime as legitimate one from the beginning, as it was established through a military coup d'etat and the bloody Kwangju massacre.

The pent-up discontent of south Koreans finally exploded when riot police mercilessly fired thousands of tear-gas shells at students protesting against the scheme of ruling circles for a prolonged military rule – the nomination of Roh as their presidential candidate.

Chun Meets Kim for the First Time

On June 24, embarrassed by an unexpected "revolt" of people whom he regarded as a "silent majority", Chun Doo Hwan accepted a meeting with Kim Young Sam, chairman of the opposition RDP.

Kim demanded that Chun unconditionally withdraw his Apr. 13 decision and hold a national referendum to decide on the form of the next government.

He also demanded the release of protesters detained in demonstrations, and urged Chun to lift the house arrest of Kim Dae Jung.

Chun, however, reportedly accepted only the resumption of constitutional debate and the release of Kim Dae Jung.

A long-time Korea watcher in Japan, referring to the Chun-Kim meeting, said, "Why didn't Chun mention a national referendum at all? It's obvious. Most Koreans will not support the ruling circles in it."

"Resumption of constitutional debate, in my opinion, will bear nothing," he continued, "because Chun knows very well that no compromise will be reached through the debate as had not been in the year-long debate."

Without a parliamentary cabinet system that the ruling circles insist on, Chun's ambition to prolong his power will be in peril, as this system is heavily weighted to favor the likes of Chun and Roh.

They Shall Overcome

By John Williams

There is a fight to the death being fought in south Korea between the forces of control and those tired of being controlled. The outcome is still uncertain and it is only in its early stages, but the democratic movement, which is going from strength to strength, has won the first round.

South Korea's prominence in the world media appears to be growing with every month that passes as we approach the 1988 Seoul Summer Olympics. In fact, it is already attracting more attention than it has at any time since the Korean War 37 years ago.

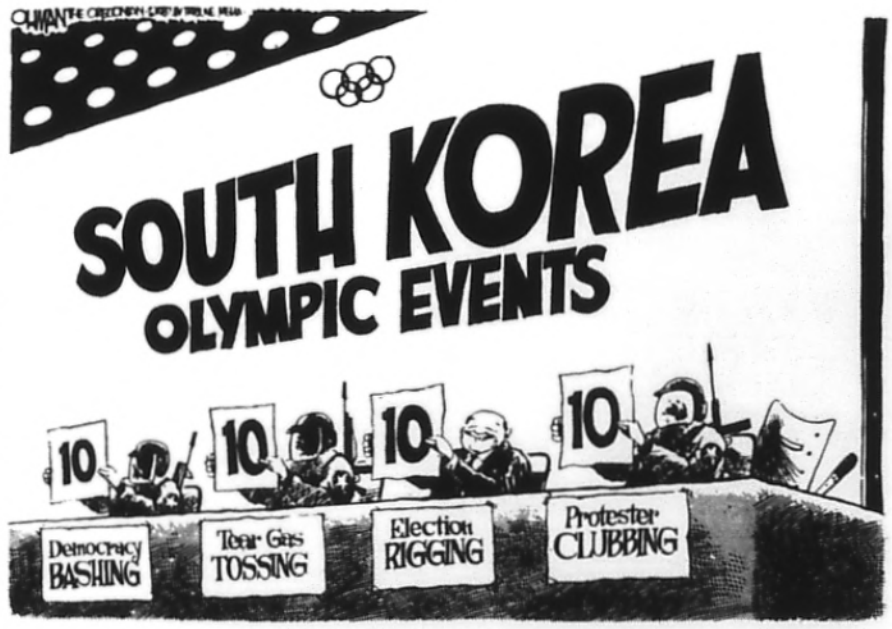
To some extent this is only to be expected. In the countdown to any Olympic Games the host city always receives a massive amount of publicity as journalists from all over the world attempt to squeeze as many stories as possible from the world's most spectacular international event.

However, in south Korea's case, coverage of the preparations for the Games is taking a back seat to coverage of the political turmoil which is threatening to spill over into armed insurrection. The uncertainty now surrounding the 1988 Olympics has been bringing the tragedies of this divided nation into the living rooms and onto the breakfast tables of people who know very little about Korea and are not particularly worried whether or not democracy is being swept under the carpet in a country at the other side of the world.

For a long time now, journalists who have been monitoring events in south Korea have been stunned by the male-violence of the south Korean military regime. President Chun Doo Hwan, a military strongman who came to power eight years ago after a military coup, has ruled the country with an iron fist, making only a feeble pretense of democracy. There is now little likelihood that after eight years on top President Chun is going to hand over power to opposition figures who have attacked him all the way.

Attacks on democracy are nothing new in south Korea and democratic figures have always had the odds heavily stacked against them. This is the situation that governments around the world have come to accept as normal and have been prepared to tolerate.

Up until now Western governments have been sitting on the fence and turning a blind eye to the excesses of the military junta because it has suited them to have a strong regime in south Korea. However, as the situation continues to become more volatile Western governments are now being forced to put pressure on the south Korean administration to ease up on its oppression and allow a little democracy.



International Herald Tribune (June 27-28)

Over the last 18 months, ever since people power in the Philippines demonstrated that even dictators with American backing could be toppled, Chun has precipitated a reign of terror.

Korea watchers are becoming increasingly aware that the military regime has the democratic movement in its sights and is determined to pull the trigger. The growing popularity of the opposition has made it too much of a threat and Chun is out to destroy it before the world media descends on Seoul for the Olympics and draws attention to its just struggle.

Consequently, there have been mass arrests of demonstrators and numerous reports of torture, intimidation and false imprisonment. Since Apr. 13 the numbers of demonstrators taken into custody have grown with every passing week. Universities have been closed and students have been subjected to police brutality and the excessive use of tear gas. Parliamentarians have been arrested for statements made in the national assembly, the press has been muffled and journalists forcibly silenced. Opposition leaders have been placed under house arrest and prevented from political involvement of any kind. Riot police have disrupted peaceful demonstrations and have violated churches. Even ideological education has been introduced to south Korean schools in an attempt to indoctrinate the children. The catalogue to human rights violations is endless.

Although it must be obvious to Chun's administration that the intensity of protest is not going to abate, they have repeatedly made it known that they have no intention of surrendering power. Chun has said that he is prepared to sacrifice everything to ensure stability, including the Olympic Games. Prime Minister Lee Han Ki has been quoted as saying, "I hope the public clearly realises that if we should fail to overcome the present difficulty in a peaceful manner, the nation will plunge into a major crisis, the consequences of which are hard to predict". Information Minister Lee Woong Hee has also warned that "strong counter-measures" would be taken if the street demonstrations continue.

John Williams is an American freelance journalist who has watched south Korea for over 10 years.

(To be continued)

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